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INTERPRETING STANCE: EPISTEMIC MODALITY MARKERS IN POLISH-ENGLISH CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETING

Krystyna Warchał, Andrzej Łyda

1. INTRODUCTION

Defined as “the ways the writers project themselves into their texts to communicate their integrity, credibility, involvement, and a relationship to their subject matter and their readers” (HYLAND, 1999: 101), stance can be expressed by a variety of means, including, among others, hedges, emphatics and attitude markers. Hyland sees stance as consisting of three main components: affect, relation and evidentiality. *Affect* concerns the extent to which personal attitudes towards what is said, including emotions and perspective, find their way into the text; *relation* reflects the interaction between the sender and the receiver, their involvement and their presence in the text; while *evidentiality* refers to “the writer’s expressed commitment to the truth of the propositions he or she presents, their reliability, strength and precision, or the strategic manipulation of these features for interpersonal goals” (HYLAND, 1999: 101)¹. This paper is concerned with the last mentioned element, by CONRAD and BIBER (1999) called epistemic stance, which appears to be the most frequently marked stance component (CONRAD and BIBER, 1999; HUNSTON, 2007: 29) and whose exponents include (and go beyond) epistemic and evidential modal markers.

¹ Evidentiality as a component of stance should be kept distinct from evidentiality as a modal category, which refers to the sources of information or sources of knowledge on which speakers base their assertions and evaluate their validity (DENDALE and TASMOWSKI, 2001).

The focus of this small-scale study is on those exponents of stance by which speakers express their assessment of the truth of a proposition and the treatment they receive in Polish-English consecutive interpreting. The first two sections address the notion of epistemic modality and its markers in English and in Polish. Further sections present the results of an analysis of trainee interpreters' performance in a task involving an academic text of over 800 words in a consecutive mode from Polish into English, with a focus on the treatment of epistemic modal markers present in the source language text (ST).

2. THE EPISTEMIC DOMAIN

Treated as extrapropositional meaning, epistemic modality encodes the speaker's commitment to the expressed proposition and his or her assessment of its probability, thus relaying either possibility or necessity that something is or is not the case (PALMER, 1979: 41). It is important to note that it is not concerned with whether or not a particular statement corresponds to a certain state of affairs in the real world but with how the relation between the two is construed by the speaker, who may express certainty, belief or doubt about the status of the state of affairs in the real world (TUTAK, 2003: 63). A subdomain of epistemic modality, often regarded as a distinct modal category (see, e.g., WIEMER, 2006), is evidentiality, which refers to the type of evidence on which the speaker bases his or her claim and assessment of its validity (see, e.g., PALMER, 1986, and his distinction into Evidentials and Judgments). Evidentials are classified according to the accessibility of evidence, which can be direct (Ex. (1)) or indirect (DENDALE and TASMOWSKI, 2001: 343). Markers of indirect evidentiality include reported evidentials ('quotatives' in PALMER, 1986 and PLUNGIAN, 2001), if the speaker relies on other people's reports about observed facts, and inferentials, if the speaker "has (directly) observed another situation which s/he interprets as pointing towards P..., or s/he simply knows something which suggests that P is probable" (PLUNGIAN, 2001: 352), as in Ex. (2) and (3) respectively.

- (1) ***I can hear*** *Mother entering the house* (personal, direct, sensory experience).
- (2) *One reason the government flew Walesa to Warsaw was to have him discuss the emergency with government officials. **Reportedly**, he refused to negotiate, on the grounds that he could not do so as long as his advisers were not at his side* (Time, December 28, 1981; indirect experience, hearsay).

- (3) “*Some of them are extremely peculiar*”, said Mrs Touchett; “*he has left considerable sums to persons I never heard of. He gave me a list, and I asked then who some of them were, and he told me they were people who at various times had seemed to like him. Apparently he thought you didn't like him, for he hasn't left you a penny*” (H. JAMES: *The Portrait of a Lady* 1981 [1881]; indirect experience, inference from traits).

While realising that not every evidentiality marker commits the speaker to the truth of the proposition or otherwise expresses a personal assessment of its validity, for the purpose of this study we will treat both evidentials and proper epistemic markers, that is those vectors of epistemic meaning which do not refer to the source of knowledge on which the expressed belief or evaluation is based, as exponents of epistemic modality.

Modality is a way of expressing intermediate stands in discourse — various degrees of certainty, necessity and possibility in the case of epistemic modality and various degrees of obligation, coercion and inclination in the case of deontic modality. The former, which is also the focus of our study, is referred to as modalization by HALLIDAY (1994: 88f), and encompasses a *scale of probability* that the situation expressed by the proposition obtains, and a *scale of 'usuality'*, or frequency with which the situation expressed by the proposition holds. It is with the former, epistemic scale, which extends from *certain* through *probable* to *possible*, and its operators that we will be further concerned.

Modalization can take one of the three values: high, median or low. Compared with yes/no alternatives, that is statements that preclude indeterminacy and in-between positions, the high end of the modal cline corresponds to the yes-pole or bare assertions, while the low end corresponds to the no-pole, that is to negation of the propositional meaning. For each value, modalization can assume subjective or objective orientation realised explicitly or implicitly (HALLIDAY, 1994: 354ff). While subjective orientation lends voice to the speaker's point of view without attempting to attribute his or her assessment to common sense, general knowledge of the world or inferencing available also to other discourse participants, explicit realizations do not involve the presence of a modal marker within the clause, as is the case with implicit realisations, but set it off as a projecting clause of the *I am convinced* or *it goes without saying* type. This pattern is illustrated in Figure 1.

The assessment of probability can be expressed, depending on the language system, by a variety of lexical and grammatical means, including modal verbs, modal adverbs, a range of lexical verbs of senses and mental processes, and, as CHAFE (1986: 261) observes, “miscellaneous idiomatic phrases”. The focus of the next section is on the exponents of epistemic modality in two languages: English and Polish.

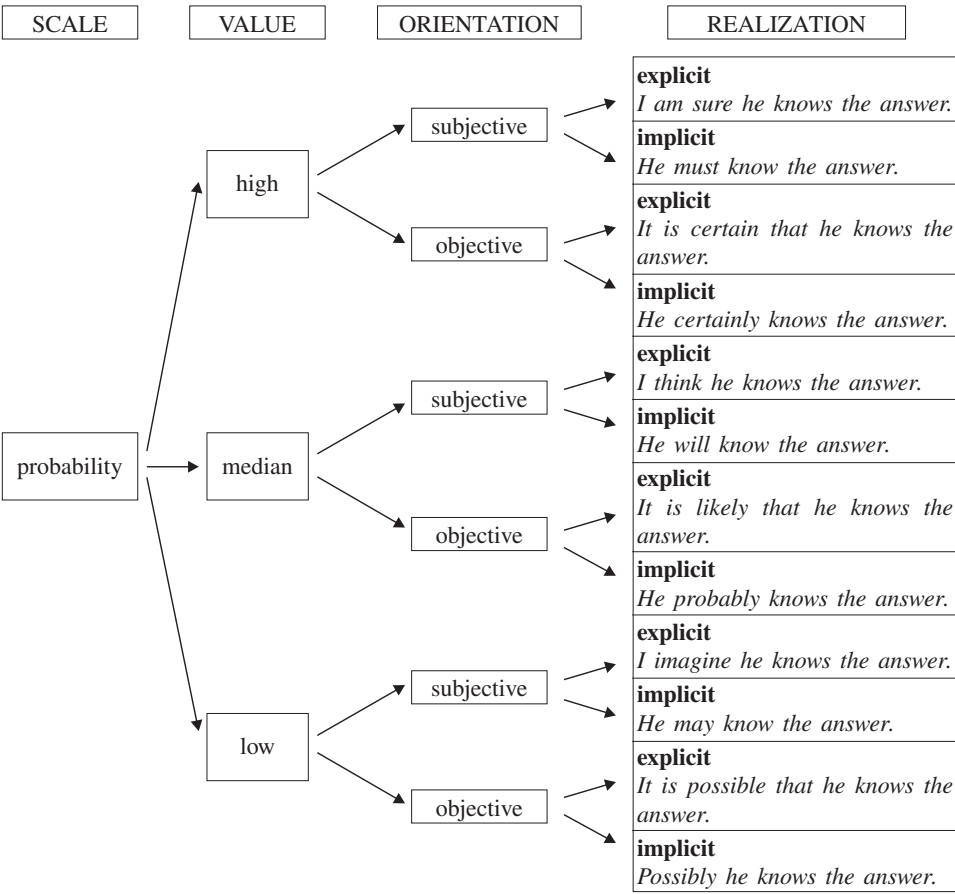


Fig. 1. Scale of probability and its realizations (based on HALLIDAY, 1994: 354ff).

3. EPISTEMIC MODALITY MARKERS
IN ENGLISH AND IN POLISH

Central to the epistemic modality system of English are modal auxiliaries MUST, MAY, and WILL, where “MAY indicates a possible judgement, WILL a reasonable judgment and MUST the only possible judgment” (PALMER, 1986: 62). CAN’T (negation of epistemic MUST, which affects the main predication) expresses the highest value of negative possibility, that is certainty that something is not the case; MIGHT and WOULD are what PALMER (1979: 48—50) calls tentative forms of epistemic MAY and WILL respectively, while OUGHT

TO and SHOULD correspond to MUST with “some notion of conditionality” attached to them (PALMER, 1986: 63). COATES (1983) adds to the list NEED (especially negated, expressing negation of the modal predication in assertions expressed by epistemic MUST), COULD (synonymous with epistemic MAY and MIGHT), SHALL (expressing prediction with first person subjects) and *quasi*-modals BE BOUND TO and HAVE (GOT) TO expressing certainty. Epistemic modality can also be expressed by other devices, such as modal lexical verbs relating to mental processes and perception (e.g. *think, suppose, believe, seem, appear*), which are often used parenthetically; adjectival and participial construction of the ‘be ADJ that’ type and ‘be ADJ to’ type (e.g. *it is likely that, I am convinced that, X is sure to*); modal adverbs (e.g. *perhaps, certainly, allegedly*); a subset of adjectival constructions and modal adverbs relating to perception (e.g. *it is clear that, apparently, seemingly*); and phrases with nouns denoting various degrees of likelihood, (e.g. *there is little doubt that, there is a possibility*) (SIMPSON, 1993: 49; GAVINS, 2005: 86).

While in English modal auxiliaries constitute a well defined subsystem of language and are considered the prototypical exponents of modality, in Polish their lexical counterparts do not form such a distinct class of verbs (KAKIETEK, 1991: 96). According to a set of criteria along which Polish modal verbs can be identified (LIGARA, 1997: 48), epistemic proper modals include MUSIEĆ ‘must’, imparting the highest degree of certainty and personal commitment, POWINIEN ‘should’, imparting a slightly lower degree of epistemic necessity (LIGARA, 1997: 126), MÓC ‘may’, indicating possibility, and MIEĆ ‘be to’, which distances the speaker from the proposition and indicates a certain degree of doubt (LIGARA, 1997: 131). Other markers of epistemic modality in Polish include modal adverbs and particles (e.g. *niewątpliwie* ‘undoubtedly’, *na pewno* ‘certainly’, *przypuszczalnie* ‘conceivably’, *rzekomo* ‘allegedly’, *ponoć* ‘supposedly’, *może* ‘perhaps’, *chyba* ‘it seems’); adjectival and participial constructions of the ‘być ADJ, że’ type (e.g. *jestem pewny, że* ‘I am sure that’; *jestem przekonany, że* ‘I am convinced that’); predicatives, which WIEMER (2006: 18) defines as uninflected predicates (e.g. *widać* ‘apparently’, *wydaje się* ‘it seems’) and which can be used parenthetically; modal lexical verbs denoting mental processes, which, like predicatives, can also be used parenthetically (e.g. *myśleć* ‘think’, *przypuszczać* ‘suppose’, *wydawać się komu* ‘seem to somebody’); phrases with nouns imparting various degrees of likelihood (e.g. *ponad wszelką wątpliwość* ‘beyond doubt’, *z pewnością* ‘with certainty’); and rare morphological/grammatical markers, such as future tense forms (e.g. *Ta książka będzie w bibliotece* ‘This book will be in the library’ = I believe it is) and conditional form of MÓC – MÓGŁBY ‘might’ (RYTEL, 1982: 41f).

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. OBJECTIVES

The complex nature of stance and the extrapositional status of epistemic modality, combined with a large variety of modal markers, which represent various categories and degrees of syntactic complexity, prompted interest in the ways exponents of this modal system are treated in Polish-English consecutive interpreting.

For reasons more than obvious the rationale for the study that we developed goes beyond the sheer fact of there being a large number of modal markers in both languages under discussion. Although our major focus is on a wide typological range of epistemic modality markers, we take interest in them mainly as linguistic units that occur in interpreting, where they have been previously reported as “problematic”. Actually, the expression “previous studies” is a misnomer, considering the fact that while modality has received due attention in the area of translation (see, e.g., ABDEL-FATTAH, 2005; FEYRER, 1998; GUTIÉRREZ CABALLERO, 2002), research on modality in simultaneous interpreting is in its initial stage (BÜLOW-MØLLER, 1999; ESPINAL, 1983; ŁYDA, 2007) and studies on transfer of modality in the consecutive mode are virtually non-existent. Neither has there been undertaken a systematic study addressing the problem of epistemic modality markers in interpreting.

We find this situation clearly unsatisfactory given the fact that according to previous studies, markers of *irrealis*, within which epistemic modality markers have their important place, are “cognitively cumbersome and therefore vulnerable in interpretation” (BÜLOW-MØLLER, 1999: 145). This vulnerability of *irrealis* has rarely been questioned, also within the area of SLA and ELT. As regards simultaneous interpreting there is agreement among researchers that the problems which *irrealis* causes arise from the syntactic complexity of the structures in which they appear, such as embedding and long qualification. These in turn lead to increased cognitive load and partial attention resulting in omissions and mistakes.

Although it is our strong conviction that similar factors may be involved in the process of consecutive interpreting, we also entertain the idea that the way in which epistemic markers are rendered is strongly affected by specific constraints on this mode of interpreting.

These constraints follow from the specificity of information processing in interpreting, which, as proposed by GILE (1995, 2001) entails different cognitive efforts. The Effort Model assumes that in consecutive interpreting there can be identified two distinct and separate phases: listening and reformulation. The former requires the following efforts:

- “— the Listening Effort, the same as in simultaneous;
 — the Production Effort (producing notes, not a target-language version of the speech);
 — a short-term Memory Effort (storing information just received until it is noted — for that part of the information taken down as notes). [...]”
 and the latter consists of:
 “— [...] A Note-Reading Effort (some PC is required to understand — and sometimes decipher — the notes);
 — A long-term Memory Effort for retrieving information stored in long-term memory and reconstructing the content of the speech;
 — A Production Effort, for producing the target-language speech” (GILE, 2001).

When compared with the Effort Model for the simultaneous mode, in which the Listening and Production phases greatly overlap, consecutive interpreting presents itself as an operation during which the interpreter is constrained by a number of factors, among which the following seem to have the greatest impact:

a) the time constraint, by which it is meant that the first phase of listening and note-taking is externally paced by the speaker while in the latter phase of reformulation, the interpreters can perform at their own pace;

b) the memory constraint, since the amount of information to be committed to the interpreter’s memory and to be stored there for retrieval may prove a real challenge in the case of longer texts; notably if the time span elapsing between note-taking and speech reconstruction is a matter of no more than several minutes, there may not arise a need to take notes covering all the information in the source text (GUMUL and ŁYDA, 2008);

c) the task management constraint, which requires monitoring all the tasks and securing sufficient processing capacity for all operations; although it is stressed in some studies that in the second phase of reformulation, “there is no risk of overloading due to a high density of the speech over time” (GILE, 1997: 203), as there are no further input segments coming during reformulation, it is inevitable that sharing attentional capacity is also to some extent required in the consecutive mode (see, e.g., VAN HOOFF, 1962); this is partly because consecutive can be viewed as “double simultaneous” in which listening may be accompanied by note-taking, and speaking by note-reading (note-interpretation); finally, as PARK (2000) observes, certain linguistic transformations can be accomplished already during the note-taking phase.

It is not our objective to identify the particular stage at which a decision is made whether to include or not an epistemic marker. What we want to signal is that, paradoxically, in what is believed to be the easiest mode of interpreting, there are more phases when a mistake can be made or a decision taken whether to retain an element or not than in simultaneous mode.

Our initial problem in this study was: 1) Whether and to what extent epistemic modal markers were preserved in the interpreter's output, considering the specific demands and constraints of the consecutive mode. Out of this the following questions arose: 2) Are high and low value modal markers transferred to the target language text (TT) with the same frequency? 3) Is there any correlation between the category of modal markers and, possibly, their position in a sentence on the one hand and the treatment they receive in the consecutive mode on the other? 4) Does the treatment of epistemic modal markers depend on the experience of the interpreter?

4.2. SUBJECTS

Data for analysis were obtained from two groups of trainee interpreters studying translation and interpreting in the English Department of the University of Silesia. All were Polish students of English (language B), taking at the same time a course in either Arabic or German (language C) as part of their university studies. Our subjects were 18 advanced interpreters with 5-semester experience in consecutive interpreting prior to this study (5th year students) and 9 trainees with 3-semester experience (4th year students). There were three male students in the former group and one male student in the latter.

4.3. MATERIAL AND PROCEDURE

The corpus of data was obtained through audio-recordings of consecutive interpreting of an 822-word long text of speech in Polish (see Appendix 1). ST represented an academic, prepared, monologic, formal genre and was prepared specially for this task on the basis of a conference paper delivered by one of the authors several years prior to this study. The speech was delivered at a relatively slow pace (about 86 words/min), and lasted altogether 9'30".

ST was prepared to hold a large number of various epistemic expressions. Altogether, epistemic markers were used 47 times, 23 imparting high degrees of certainty and likelihood and 24 imparting middle or low modal values, among them: 3 modal verbs, 3 lexical verbs of thinking, 4 predicatives, 7 adjectives or participles relaying various degrees of likelihood and certainty, 7 modal adverbs or particles, and 4 nouns imparting epistemic meanings (see Table 1).

Considering the fact that the text was rather demanding in terms of both content and syntactic structures, ST was recorded with pauses and thus divided into 5 units, the longest of which was 2'20" long. The outputs were recorded producing a corpus of 27 recordings, which were examined with regard to the modal meanings transferred from ST.

Table 1

Markers of epistemic modality in ST by category

Categories	Epistemic markers	
Modal verbs [MV]	MÓC MUSIEĆ POWINIEN	'may' 'must' 'should'
Lexical verbs of thinking [LV]	MYSLEĆ PRZYPUSZCZAĆ SĄDZIĆ	'think' 'suppose' 'reckon'
Predicatives [PR]	BYĆ MOŻE WIDAĆ WYDAWAĆ SIĘ ZDAWAĆ SIĘ	'perhaps' 'apparently' 'it seems' 'seem to'
Adjectives [ADJ] (<i>być ADJ, że 'be ADJ that'</i>)	BEZDYSKUSYJNY MOŻLIWY NIEWYKLUCZONY OCZYWISTY PEWNY PRAWDOPODOBNY PRZEKONANY	'indisputable' 'possible' 'conceivable' 'obvious' 'certain' 'probable' 'convinced'
Modal adverbs and particles [MAD]	CHYBA NA PEWNO NIEWĄTPLIWIE OCZYWIŚCIE PRAWDOPODOBNI PRZYPUSZCZALNIE ZAPEWNE	'perhaps' 'for sure' 'undoubtedly' 'obviously' 'probably' 'conceivably' 'probably'
Phrases with nouns [N]	BEZ WĄTPIENIA JEST PRAWDOPODOBIEN- STWO PONAD WSZELKĄ WĄTPLIWOŚĆ Z PEWNOŚCIĄ	'without doubt' 'there is likelihood' 'beyond doubt' 'with certainty'

5. RESULTS

The epistemic markers (EMs) were transferred to TT with various frequency, which for the total of 27 outputs ranged from 16 (for EM 20; see Appendix 2) to 0 (for EMs 4, 11, 24, and 29), as shown in Figure 2.

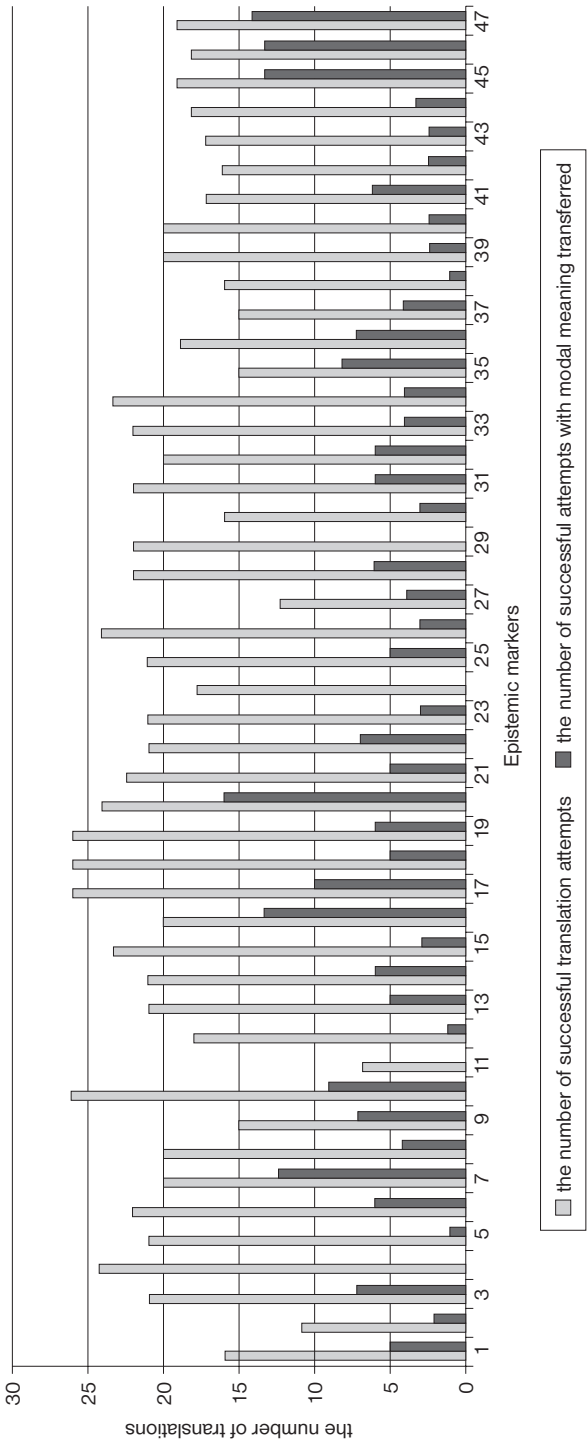


Fig. 2. EMs in students' outputs by token

On the whole, successful communicative attempts at translation of the 47 ST units containing EMs were made 923 times (for the maximum of 1.269); in the remaining cases the interpreter either did not succeed in producing a communicative translation or gave up translating altogether. Of the 923 successful attempts, 251, that is 27%, involved modal meaning, although this was not always epistemic (Figure 3).

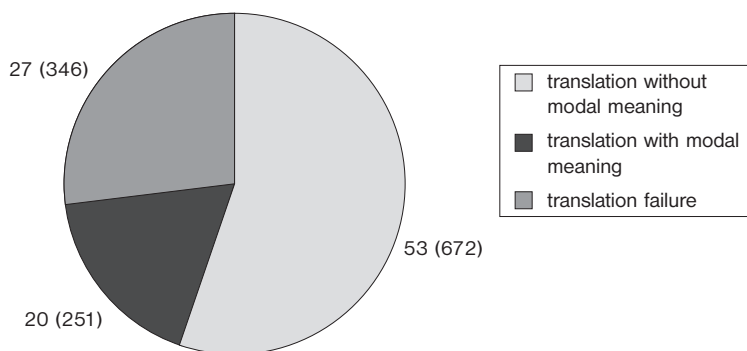


Fig. 3. Modal meanings transferred to TT (in %)

The remaining cases took the form of bare assertions (Ex. (4)), comprised usuality markers (see Section 2; Ex. (5)), were engaged with other components of stance (Ex. (6)), or involved hedging expressions other than epistemic modal markers (Ex. (7)).

(4) *Senses presuppose the way the reality is perceived* (28, C5-4)².

(5) *The subject's body as well as its physical experiences **tend to** influence the way we perceive space* (33, C5-1).

(6) ***I'd like to stress** that the order of the world is not the same for everybody* (1, C5-1).

(7) *[Themerson's novel] is **a sort of** distortion...* (10, C5-18).

There were some differences noted firstly in the quality of translation and secondly in the treatment of EM in relation to the interpreter's experience. Altogether, 5th year students produced satisfactory outputs in 77% of the identified ST units with modal markers, a result which for 4th year students was somewhat lower and reached 65%, as shown in Figure 4 a), b). The average success rate (the number of successful outputs/the number of students) was 36 for 5th year subjects and dropped to 31 for the less experienced group. Modal meaning was transferred to TT in 28% of the successfully translated units by 5th year students; the percentage was slightly lower and reached 25% in the other group.

² The first number indicates the context with the epistemic marker (see Table in Appendix 2), C5 and C4 refer to the student groups (5th and 4th year respectively), the last number indicates the subject.

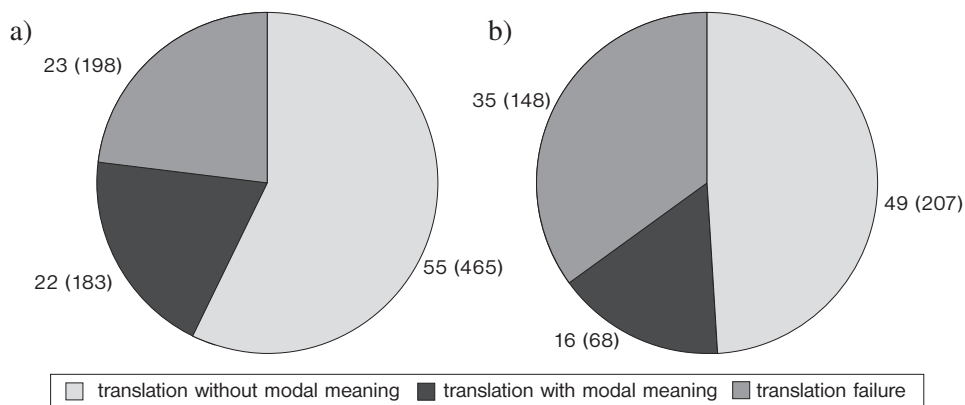


Fig. 4. Modal meanings transferred to TT and the level of training; a) — 5th year students, b) — 4th year students (in %)

As we have mentioned above, not all modal meanings present in the outputs were epistemic. Of the 251 modal senses present in TTs 62 were deontic and another 3 admitted both epistemic and deontic interpretation (Figure 5).

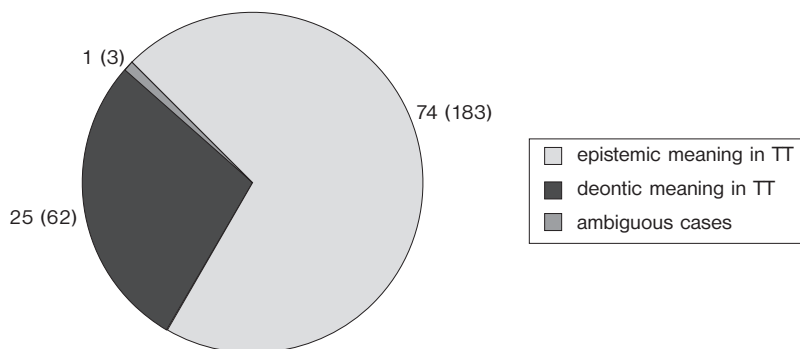


Fig. 5. Epistemic and deontic modal meanings in TT (in %)

All deontic meanings were realised by modal verbs, of which CAN was by far the most frequent modal marker (42 instances, 68% of deontic modal markers in the outputs). CAN in English is not used epistemically, but, arguably, it can combine with verbs of perception to carry a note of evidentiality (Ex. (8)). The second most frequent realisation was by the modal auxiliary MAY/MAY NOT (6 instances) and SHOULD/SHOULDN'T (5), both far behind CAN. Deontic meanings appeared in more than half of the outputs with modal expressions for EMs 14, 37, 42 and 46, out of which only 37 yielded to deontic interpretation³.

³ Indeed, for EM 37 all successful translations with modal meanings opted for deontic interpretation.

(8) *We can see some kind of coherence here* (42, C5-5).

There were no substantial differences observed in the frequency of transfer from ST to TT in relation to the value of the EM. In our analysis we identified EMs according to 2 values only: high and non-high, the latter encompassing both middle and low modal values. This category will be further referred to as low. Among the 451 communicative translations of ST units with low-value EMs, 131 outputs (29%) involved modal meaning; for the 472 successful translations of units with high-value EMs, 120 (25%) contained a modal marker (Figure 6 a), b)).

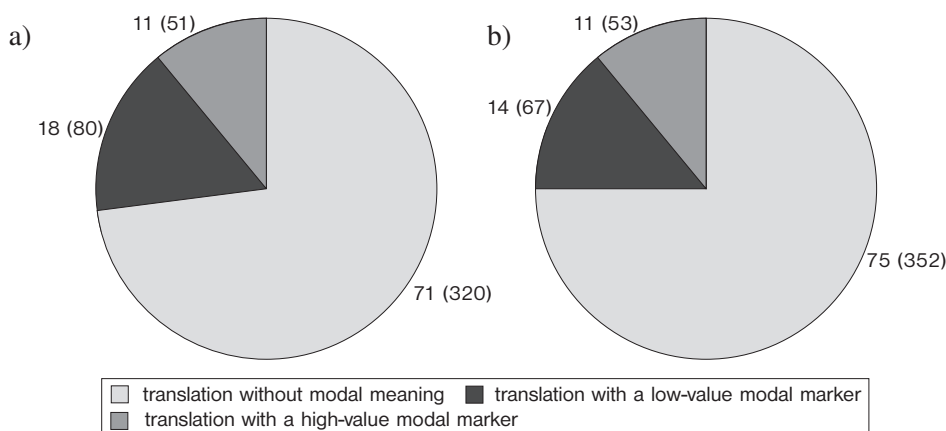


Fig. 6. Transfer of high and low epistemic values to TT; a) — low modal values, b) — high modal values (in %)

Somewhat surprisingly, epistemic meaning was represented in TT by low and high-value EMs largely irrespective of the original value of EM in ST: 39% of weak modal meanings were transferred to the outputs by high-value EMs and as much as 44% of strong modal senses were represented by low-value EMs, as shown in examples (9) and (10).

(9) *Obviously the world order... is not the same thing for all people* ('*Możliwe, że termin "porządek świata" nie dla wszystkich oznacza to samo*'; L to H-value shift; 1, C-52).

(10) *I think that a very important... factor* ('*Istotnym czynnikiem... jest z pewnością*'; H to L-value shift; 6, C5-17).

We were also interested in the possible correlation between the category of EM in ST and the frequency of transfer. Of the six categories we distinguished (Table 1), none was represented by a modal marker in TT in more than 40% of successful translations (Figure 7). Phrases containing adjectives or participles of probability and certainty appeared to be transferred most often (in 55 out of 143 successful translations, 38%), while the groups of EMs most often omitted in

translation were modal adverbs/particles and predicatives (18% and 22% of successful translations respectively). It is worth noting that all EMs involving adjectives or participles were realised explicitly in ST and that they all appeared in the initial position in the clause, which might have added to their salience and by the same token increased the chance of transfer to TT. By contrast, modal adverbs and particles, that is EMs least frequently transferred to TT, contributed their meaning implicitly and occurred in the middle position in the clause.

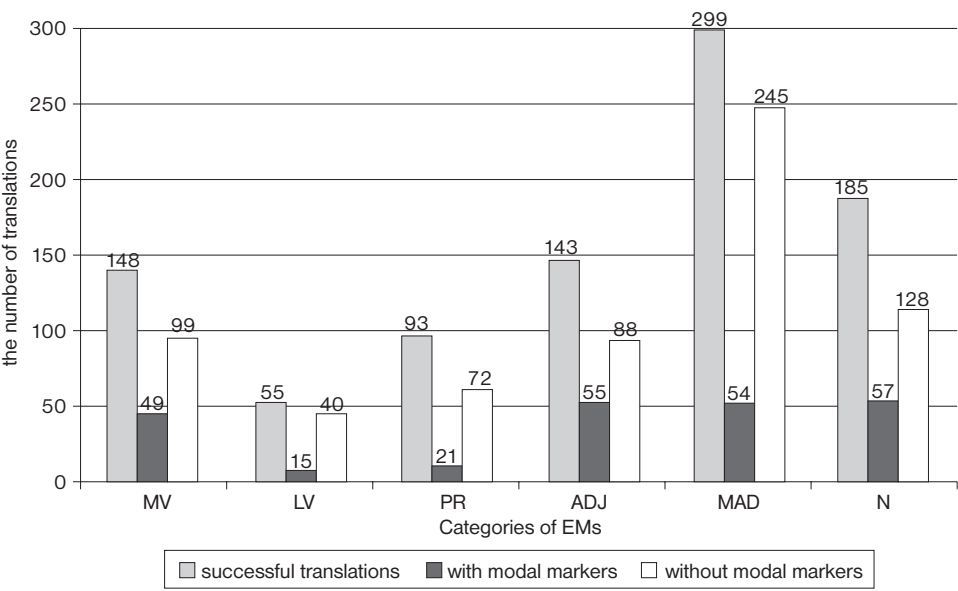


Fig. 7. Transfer of EMs by category

With regard to realization and position of EM in a clause, it is worth noting that the three most frequently transferred items, EMs 45, 46 and 47, which found their way to TT in 68%, 72% and 73% of successful translations respectively, occurred in the initial position and represented explicit realization of modal meaning. It is also significant that the item used parenthetically (EM 11) was consistently omitted by all interpreters.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The most important findings of our small-scale research could be summarized in the following way:

- in consecutive interpreting epistemic meaning is transferred to TT with rather low frequency, in only a little more than 1/4 of the cases;
- the experience of the interpreter is a factor with regard to the transfer of modal senses to the output, but it appears to play a relatively minor role (a difference of 3%) compared to the correlation between the level of training and the quality of translation (a difference of 11%);
- epistemic modal meaning is often — in 1/4 of the cases — transferred to TT as deontic modality;
- by far the most frequent deontic marker used in place of epistemic unit is CAN;
- no substantial differences are observed in the frequency of transfer for high- and low-value epistemic modal markers, the balance tilted in favour of low-value markers by 4%;
- possibly most interestingly, high-value epistemic markers are transferred to the outputs as high-value and low-value modal senses with a comparable frequency (54:44); low-value modal meaning is transferred by high-value markers in 39% of cases;
- the most frequently transferred categories of epistemic markers appear to be those involving adjectives or participles of certainty and probability; modal adverbs and predicatives tend to be transferred to the outputs least frequently;
- items that appear in the initial position in the clause and are realised explicitly seem to be transferred to TT more often than those which occur in the middle position and are realised implicitly.

The fact that epistemic modality is relatively rarely transferred to the TT may indicate that modal meaning either is considered non-essential by the interpreters and therefore consciously omitted to stay within the time limits, or escapes unnoticed, as previously observed in studies on irrealis. The small increase in the number of transfers in the more experienced group of students may suggest another explanation — with training, the translators also learn to be more sensitive to extra-propositional meanings. Alternatively, the better performance of more experienced students in the production phase may also follow from their superior skills in note-taking and note-interpretation. This hypothesis, however, requires further studies.

The high frequency of the deontic modal verb CAN in the outputs may be related to the fact that this auxiliary can combine with verbs of perception to carry evidential senses. Another important factor may be that for Polish speakers of English CAN does pose problems with regard to modal senses it encodes, the Polish translation equivalent MÓC being used to carry either deontic ('can') or epistemic ('may') meaning.

Possibly most interestingly of all, the fact that epistemic markers are often transferred into the outputs with disregard for their value may indicate that the trainees do not perceive the modal system as internally complex semantically or

that they do not perceive this complexity as important in translation. While realising the necessity of marking a proposition as ‘a point of view’ rather than ‘a simple fact’, they do not seem to consider it essential to specify exactly what point of view is being transferred.

The observation that the most frequently transferred markers represent the category of adjectives/participles of certainty and probability — as contrasted with the category of modal adverbs/particles seems to indicate that phrases containing adjectives are more easily noticed than adverbs, which are most frequently used as part of the clause and therefore implicitly. This finding corresponds with the observation that items appearing in projecting clauses, and therefore more salient, tend to be transferred to the outputs more often than those which are realised implicitly.

There are a few limitations that need to be acknowledged and addressed regarding the present study. The first limitation concerns the scale of this research project: the phenomenon was studied only within the group of novices, yet of different experience. The second limitation has to do with the extent to which the findings can be generalised beyond the mode of interpreting and the cases studied. This, however, will require further large-scale research.

APPENDIX 1

SOURCE TEXT (ST)

Szanowni Państwo, tytuł mojego krótkiego wystąpienia brzmi *Relacje przestrzenne a porządek świata w powieści Stefana Themersona*. **Możliwe, że** termin „porządek świata” nie dla wszystkich oznacza to samo. Otóż ja przez „porządek świata” rozumiem tutaj nie tyle „stan świata zgodny z prawami natury”, ile obraz tego stanu funkcjonujący w świadomości pewnej zbiorowości. **Może** on sprawiać, że jej uczestnicy postrzegają rzeczy i relacje w określony sposób. Czynnikiem generującym ten obraz **muszą** być z jednej strony **zapewne** doświadczenia fizyczne, z drugiej zaś zjawiska semiotyczne, m.in. językowe, na gruncie których **niewątpliwie** rozwija się i funkcjonuje kultura. Istotnym czynnikiem kształtującym tak pojęty porządek świata jest **z pewnością** jego obraz językowy, a więc struktura pojęciowa utrwalona we właściwościach gramatycznych i leksykalnych języka danej zbiorowości oraz zawarta w nim interpretacja rzeczywistości. Będąc sposobem opisu rzeczywistości, język **nie może** więc pozostawać wobec niej bierny, lecz wpływa **na pewno** na postrzeganie przedmiotu opisu. Właśnie poprzez język przyjrę się tutaj porządkowi świata wybranej na dziś powieści, szczególnie zaś dwóm rodzajom zależności: pomiędzy ciałem podmiotu i sposobem ujmowania relacji przestrzennych w języku oraz pomiędzy sposobem ujmowania relacji przestrzennych a porządkiem aksjologicznym. **Jest wielce prawdopodobne**, że zależności te stanowią podstawową oś, na której opiera się logika stworzonego przez autora świata.

Powieść Themersona jest **być może** odwróceniem dzieła Maeterlincka: tam człowiek bada życie termitów, tu zaś termit obserwuje świat ludzi. Obok czytelnych, **jak sądzę**, nawiązań do języka noblisty, sparodiowaniu ulega **chyba** także Maeterlinckowska postawa metodologiczna, która, zastosowana do badania człowieka, **musi** prowadzić do absurdalnych wniosków.

Wnioski, do jakich dochodzą termyty, stosując metodę naukowego opisu, **nie pozostawiają wątpliwości**, że język nauk przyrodniczych nie jest wystarczającym narzędziem poznania. Zafałszowanie obrazu poznawanej rzeczywistości jest tu **przypuszczalnie** konsekwencją interpretacji świata wyłącznie z punktu widzenia termita — jego budowy ciała, fizjologii, możliwości poznania zmysłowego, tworzonych przezeń struktur społecznych, sposobu uprawiania nauki, religijności i hierarchii wartości. **Niewykluczone** więc, że te same czynniki, które kształtują porządek świata zbiorowości, utrudniają poznanie i zrozumienie elementów tworzących odrębne porządki i w ich ramach funkcjonujących.

Ponieważ bohaterami powieści są termyty, **przypuszczam**, że nie dziwi nikogo obecność w tekście takich terminów jak *abdomen* czy *thorax*. Jednocześnie jest to **bez wątpienia** opowieść o człowieku i jego rzeczywistości. Czytelnik ma więc pamiętać, że termit jest maską sporządzoną z języka, w którym zachodzi metodyczne naruszenie związków frazeologicznych z udziałem nazw części ciała.

W przykładach widocznych teraz na ekranie rzeczowniki, oznaczające części ciała człowieka, zastąpiono **oczywiście** nazwami części ciała zwierząt, nie zawsze odpowiadających im pod względem funkcji. Wyrażenia i zwroty leżące u podstaw tych ‘nowych’ formacji pozostają **na pewno** czytelne i **myślę**, że zrozumienie tych fragmentów w kontekście całej powieści **nie powinno** nastręczać czytelnikowi kłopotów. Podobną funkcję **zdaje się** pełnić neologizm, który widzą Państwo niżej.

Analogicznej manipulacji **można by się przypuszczalnie** dopatrzeć w odniesieniu do jednostek leksykalnych oznaczających zmysły i związków frazeologicznych z udziałem takich leksemów. Także w tym przypadku u podstaw mechanizmu leży **zapewne** kwestia możliwości fizycznych bohaterów oraz zasada przejrzystości ‘nowych’ formacji.

Wszystkie omawiane wcześniej zabiegi językowe mają **prawdopodobnie** na celu z jednej strony podtrzymanie iluzji niezależnej rzeczywistości, z drugiej zaś podkreślenie symetrii pomiędzy światem tekstu i ludzkim porządkiem świata, jako że wprowadzone zmiany **zdają się** mieć charakter jedynie formalny.

Budowa ciała, organy zmysłów i sposób poruszania się **muszą** mieć **niewątpliwie** decydujący wpływ na postrzeganie przestrzeni. **Jest także oczywiste**, że te same cechy oraz codzienne doświadczenie skłaniają nas do organizowania przestrzeni w określony sposób — sprawne funkcjonowanie organizmów roślinnych, zwierzęcych i wielu przedmiotów codziennego użytku uwarunkowane jest **prawdopodobnie** zdolnością ‘trzymania pionu’. **Nie ulega wątpliwości**, że zmiany polegające na wprowadzeniu w miejsce nazw części ciała człowieka nazw części ciała owadów mają konsekwencje dla modelowania stosunków przestrzennych w tekście.

Tak jak **sprawą bezdyskusyjną jest** stwierdzenie, iż budowa ciała podmiotu i podstawowe doświadczenia fizyczne modelują sposób postrzegania przestrzeni, tak też sposób ujmowania relacji przestrzennych ma **bez wątpienia** konsekwencje aksjologiczne. Sposób postrzegania przestrzeni stanowi bowiem podstawę metaforycznego ujmowania pojęć w jej kategoriach.

Jest pewne, że metaforyczne ujmowanie pojęć w kategoriach przestrzennych ma charakter systematyczny i charakteryzuje się tym, że wartości pozytywne są **oczywiście** utożsamiane z ruchem w górę. Aksjologizacja przestrzeni **może** więc **z pewnością** znaleźć odbicie w sposobach mówienia o pojęciach bardzo złożonych.

Jestem przekonana, że odwrócenie porządku aksjologicznego w omawianej powieści wpisuje się w logikę tworzenia innego świata i wynika **ponad wszelką wątpliwość** z zastosowanych zabiegów językowych, których celem jest stworzenie iluzji, iż powieść traktuje o życiu owadów. Zabiegi stosowane przez autora **nie mogą** być przypadkowe, **wydaje się**, że cechuje je duża konsekwencja, poczynwszy od nieco mechanicznych operacji słownikowych, przez zabiegi słowotwórcze, zaburzanie związków frazeologicznych, po odmienną od ludzkiej aksjologizację przestrzeni. Mamy tu **chyba** do czynienia z umotywowanymi odstępstwami od normy językowej, które, umożliwiając inną konceptualizację przestrzeni, prowadzą do wykreowania nowego porządku świata. **Widać, że** odstępstwa te charakteryzuje jednocześnie duża spójność i konsekwencja. **Możliwe, że** w tej właśnie spójności i konsekwencji tkwi cały urok powieści. **Pozostają wątpliwości**, czy wykreowanie świata o tak odmiennym porządku jest możliwe bez radykalnych zabiegów na poziomie języka. **Istnieje duże prawdopodobieństwo**, że nie, nie zapominajmy bowiem, że nasza percepcja rzeczywistości warunkowana jest językiem, jakim o tej rzeczywistości mówimy. Dziękuję bardzo.

APPENDIX 2

EPISTEMIC MODAL MARKERS IN CONTEXTS

No	Epistemic modal markers in ST		Category	Value high/low	Realization explicit/implicit
1.	Możliwe, że termin nie dla wszystkich oznacza to samo	'it is possible'	ADJ	L	E
2.	Może on sprawiać, że	'may'	MV	L	I
3.	Czynnikiem tym muszą być doświadczenia fizyczne	'must'	MV	H	I
4.	Zapewne doświadczenia fizyczne	'probably'	MAD	L	I
5.	Na gruncie których niewątpliwie rozwija się kultura	'undoubtedly'	MAD	H	I
6.	Czynnikiem jest z pewnością obraz językowy	'with certainty'	N	H	I
7.	Język nie może pozostawać bierny	'cannot'	MV	H	I
8.	Wpływa na pewno na postrzeganie	'for sure'	MAD	H	I
9.	Jest wielce prawdopodobne, że zależności te stanowią oś	'it is very probable'	ADJ	L	E

con. tab.

10.	Powieść jest być może odwróceniem dzieła	'perhaps'	PR	L	I
11.	Obok czytelnych, jak sądzę , nawiązań	'I reckon'	LV	L	E
12.	Sparodiowaniu ulega chyba postawa	'perhaps'	MAD	L	I
13.	Postawa, która musi prowadzić do wniosków	'must'	MV	H	I
14.	Wnioski nie pozostawiają wątpliwości , że język nie jest	'leave no doubt'	N	H	E
15.	Zafałszowanie jest tu przypuszczalnie konsekwencją	'conceivably'	MAD	L	I
16.	Niewykluczone , że te same czynniki utrudniają poznanie	'it is conceivable'	ADJ	L	E
17.	Przypuszczam , że nie dziwi obecność	'I suppose'	LV	L	E
18.	Jest to bez wątpienia opowieść o człowieku	'without doubt'	N	H	I
19.	Rzeczowniki zastąpiono oczywiście nazwami	'obviously'	MAD	H	I
20.	Wyrażenia i zwroty pozostają na pewno czytelne	'for sure'	MAD	H	I
21.	Myszę, że zrozumienie tych fragmentów	'I think'	LV	L	E
22.	Nie powinno nastęrczać kłopotów	'should not'	MV	L	I
23.	Podobną rolę zdaje się pełnić neologizm	'seem to'	PR	L	I
24.	Można by się przypuszczalnie dopatrzeć	'conceivably'	MAD	L	I
25.	U podstaw leży zapewne kwestia	'probably'	MAD	L	I
26.	Zabiegi mają prawdopodobnie na celu	'probably'	MAD	L	I
27.	Wprowadzone zmiany zdają się mieć charakter	'seem to'	PR	L	I
28.	Organy zmysłów muszą mieć decydujący wpływ	'must'	MV	H	I
29.	Muszą mieć niewątpliwie decydujący wpływ	'undoubtedly'	MAD	H	I
30.	Jest oczywiste , że te same cechy	'it is obvious'	ADJ	H	E
31.	Funkcjonowanie uwarunkowane jest prawdopodobnie zdolnością	'probably'	MAD	L	I
32.	Nie ulega wątpliwości , że zmiany mają konsekwencje	'there is no doubt'	N	H	E
33.	Jest sprawą bezdyskusyjną , iż budowa podmiotu	'it is indisputable'	ADJ	H	E

con. tab.

34.	Sposób ujmowania relacji ma bez wątplenia konsekwencje	‘without doubt’	N	H	I
35.	Jest pewne, że ujmowanie pojęć w kategoriach	‘it is certain’	ADJ	H	E
36.	Wartości pozytywne są oczywiście utożsamiane	‘obviously’	MAD	H	I
37.	Aksjologizacja przestrzeni może znaleźć odbicie	‘may’	MV	L	I
38.	Aksjologizacja przestrzeni może z pewnością znaleźć odbicie	‘with certainty’	N	H	I
39.	Jestem przekonana , że odwrócenie porządku	‘I am convinced’	ADJ	H	E
40.	Odwrócenie wynika ponad wszelką wątpliwość z zabiegów	‘beyond doubt’	N	H	I
41.	Zabiegi nie mogą być przypadkowe	‘cannot’	MV	H	I
42.	Wydaje się , że cechuje je konsekwencja	‘it seems’	PR	L	E
43.	Mamy tu chyba do czynienia	‘perhaps’	MAD	L	I
44.	Widać, że odstępstwa te charakteryzuje	‘apparently’	PR	H	E
45.	Możliwe, że w tej spójności tkwi urok	‘it is possible’	ADJ	L	E
46.	Pozostają wątpliwości , czy wykreowanie świata jest możliwe	‘there are doubts’	N	L	E
47.	Istnieje duże prawdopodobieństwo, że nie	‘in all likelihood’	N	L	E

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